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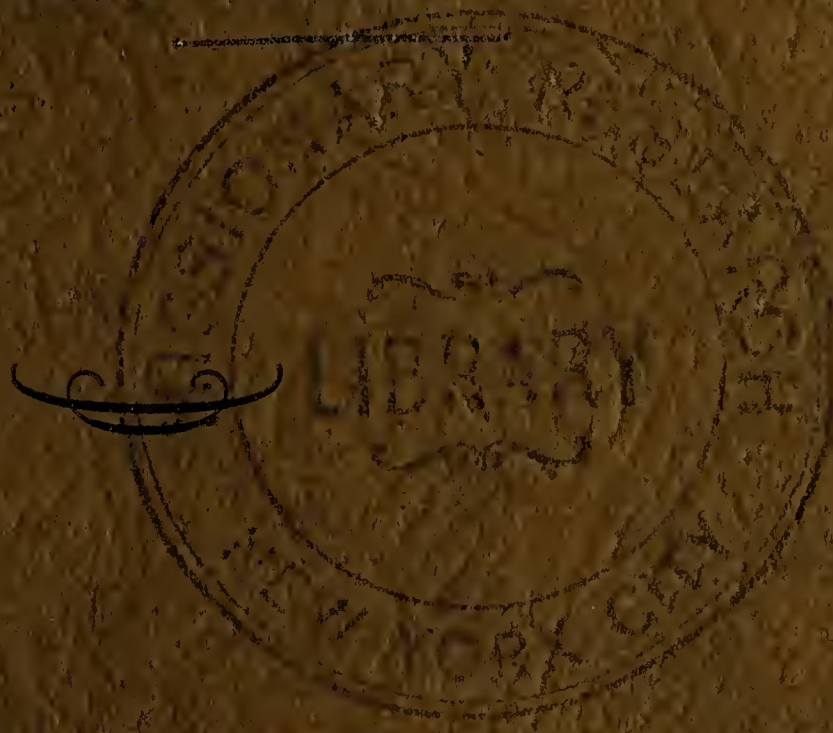
THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD CRISIS

by

CHARLES H. CORBETT



Studies Looking Toward

THE WORLD CONFERENCE

on

CHURCH, STATE, AND SOCIETY

To be held at Oxford

JULY, 1937

under the auspices

of

THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR LIFE AND WORK

PREFACE

Christian people the world over are deeply concerned over the attacks which are being made upon the Christian religion by representatives of non-Christian philosophies which in the name of the State, whether Communist National Socialist, or Fascist, claim the right to control the education of the youth of the nation in the interest of their own aims and ideals. These attacks not only involve the substance of the Christian faith, but raise issues of vital importance to non-Christians as well.

To deal with the issues thus raised, the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, an organization which includes all the larger Christian churches except the Church of Rome, has invited the churches to take part in a Conference to be held at Oxford in July of 1937. The subject of the Conference will be "THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE AND TO SOCIETY" and it will be attended by three hundred official delegates from different countries and churches and an equal number of invited guests.

The specific subjects to be discussed by the Conference have been defined by the Council as follows:

1. The Church and the Community
2. The Church and the State
3. The Church, Society, and the State in relation to education
4. The Church, Society, and the State in relation to the economic order
5. The Universal Church and the World of Nations, including the Christian attitude toward war.

The subjects with which the Conference will deal are of interest to every thinking man and woman. Face to face with the challenge which meets the Church from a militant secularism which denies the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, Christians need to reconsider the deeper grounds of their faith and bring into the clear light of day those basic unities which are often obscured by the multiplicity of our Christian organizations. It is with these basic unities that this Conference will be concerned as it considers the relation of the Church to the State, to the economic order, and to the community of nations.

Important and interesting as this Conference may prove, it will accomplish little unless it becomes the center of a world-wide process of cooperative thinking and discussion in which Christians of all different churches and countries are engaged. To assist in promoting such participation in American circles, Rev. Charles H. Corbett has prepared the brief outline which follows. Those who desire fuller information on the subjects treated will find it conveniently assembled by Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, Secretary of the American Section of the Universal Christian Council, in a book entitled, *"Christ's Way and the World's."*

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN
Chairman, American Section: Universal
Christian Council for Life and Work.

STUDY ONE

A WORLD IN THE THROES OF TRANSFORMATION

For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. . . . For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the Sons of God. . . . For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth until now. (Romans 8:18-22.)

WHAT THE HEADLINES TELL

FEAR IN EUROPE
BUT HOPE HERE

MASS BUTCHERY
RAGES IN SPAIN

ART REFLECTS
WORLD CHAOS

PARLIAMENT VOTES
GAS MASKS FOR
EVERYBODY

YOUTH COMPETES
IN OLYMPIC GAMES

AIRSHIP CROSSES
OCEAN IN 50 HOURS

TELEVISION WILL
CHANGE HABITS

DECADE ADDED TO
AVERAGE LIFE IN
THIS CENTURY

THE FACTS BEHIND THE HEADLINES

We live at a time when the world is giving birth to a new civilization. It is a fateful hour and emotions are tense. At one moment we are elated with the thought of how wondrously beautiful the child of our hopes will be. The next instant we are filled with foreboding, lest it be true of our time as it was in the day of Isaiah—"The children are come to the birth and there is not strength to bring forth."

The possibilities of the new civilization—how they fascinate us! At last we shall be able to produce enough food for every soul upon this planet. Let famine come, for we can quickly supply the need of one country from the surplus of another. Let storm and earthquake and fire rage anywhere, and immediately help will be forthcoming for those in peril. All the treasures of the past and all the beauty and joy of the present will be the common heritage of humanity, freely shared in an atmosphere of goodwill and helpfulness.

But though this new civilization seems almost here, it is not yet born. The world still is in the agonies of hunger and want and fear.

We ask the historians what is the trouble, and they tell us the world is suffering from a fever—the fever of nationalism. We ask the sociologists, and they explain to us that there is always a cultural lag due to the persistence of old habits and customs. We ask the publicists and

they tell us the world is weary of trying to think, and is ready to accept any opiate and believe any word which is spoken with the semblance of authority. We ask the psychiatrists and they tell us of the unconscious urges for domination and destruction which constantly rise in the human heart. We ask the economists and they give us so many answers that we are left puzzled and confused.

Christians believe that there is a Christian answer. It was given long ago by one who claimed to speak for God, and who has been revered for centuries by his followers as the Lord Jesus Christ.

THE ISSUE THAT CONFRONTS CHRISTIANS

In these studies we shall try to think together as Christians, glad of whatever light we can receive from any source, but intent on finding the Christian contributions to our problem. In particular we shall ask ourselves: What is the Christian attitude to the questions raised by the claim of the modern State to supreme allegiance as that claim bears upon various aspects of our common life such as education, the economic order, war and peace?

In Study One, we shall attempt to explore the trends in modern life which have created the present world crisis, hoping to discover some clues as to why these trends exist, and how they can be met.

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE STATE OF THE WORLD

A Craving for Authority

"A craving for authority is gnawing more and more at men's spirits. . . . Sir Michael Sadler, describing prevailing attitudes among Oxford undergraduates, says, 'The young are eager and hungry—for faith, for work, for a leader whom they can trust and follow without question. . . . They are not interested in what at one time I would have gone to the stake for—I mean liberty of thought. Give them the possibility of ardor in achievement and they would not care a hang about—for example—the freedom of the press. . . . Once the young have found their leader and accepted his purpose, there will be a revolution.' There, one suspects, is the mood of tomorrow. . . .

"In every corner of the world, two such faiths are foremost—nationalism and communism. They do not invite participation; they command allegiance. They do not persuade to hypotheses; they declare finalities. They do not encourage discussion; they silence criticism. They do not promise satisfactions; they demand sacrifice. They do not pamper men; they conscript their very souls. They do not magnify the individual; they require his all in the service of the whole. But from that complete self-giving they propose to build a new world for all mankind."

H. P. Van Dusen in *God in These Times,* pp. 23-24,
Chas. Scribner's Sons.

Aggressive, Combative Dictatorship

"These aggressive, combative dictatorships are strong, not, as it would at first appear, by virtue of their cruel and oppressive domination of the masses, but because of their extreme expansive aggressiveness, their challenging hatred and propulsive readiness to kill others beyond their own borders. The masses may seem to be beaten down by the ruthless dictator, but they are actually vicarious participants in one great aggressive explosion which their ruler effects. Hence the great need felt by dictatorships for pageantry and boastful exhibition of force, for only in this way can the masses identify themselves with the ruler and his domineering cruelty. It is this identification that is the secret of the dictator's strength."

GREGORY ZILBOORG in *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1936.

Morals of the Stone Age

"Some of the difficulties of rationally guiding and changing a culture or civilization should now be manifest. A civilization may get started in a wrong direction not simply through errors and misjudgments, but also through the fact that an institution or a custom which once worked well persists long beyond its usefulness, and even after it has become a positive detriment. Every civilization is filled with these 'lags in culture', as they are called, especially on its spiritual or non-material side. That is the reason why our morals, our politics, and even our religion are frequently of the stone age, while we are living in a world of complex machines."

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD in *Man's Social Destiny*, pp. 71-72,
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World Upheaval Reflected in the Arts

"Now we are in a period of near-chaos in the realm of taste. The arts reflect accurately the upheavals in the world of thought and event. Sometimes they even prognosticate.

"With the sensitiveness of a seismograph, the arts registered long before they were manifest to most of us the serious unrest that preceded the vast changes and disturbances that have beset the world in recent years."

RUTH ROBINSON TREGANZA in *The New York Sun*, August 15, 1936.

The Possibilities of Our Civilization

"We do not yet know the values immanent in our civilization. As men of imaginative insight discern them, they will be worked into the moral pattern of our life. Men will learn to cherish its possibilities. They will organize them around their basic convictions, until their minds are no longer in conflict with their hearts. They will come to value the organic unity that is possible with industrialism, the diversity of function that presupposes a unified aim. They will admire the freedom to cooperate in the unified life

of humanity to which technology points. They will appreciate the skill to utilize the forces of nature wisely. They will respect, as they do not yet, the intelligence that can solve problems and make adjustments, the open-minded experimental attitude that is the very spirit of scientific inquiry. They will reverence the sensitivity to human suffering, to the needs of human personality entangled in a complicated set of relationships. They will try to combine a faith in the worth of men with the intelligence to guide and direct them. As yet these things are lovely words. When we have come really to feel them to the core of our being, we shall discover in ourselves the sources of art and religion that will be able to flourish once more as an integral part of our social life."

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR., in *Our Changing Civilization,* pp. 354-355, Frederick A. Stokes Co.

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE ISSUES CONFRONTING CHRISTIANS

The Present Grave Situation

"We are at the beginning of a new era and we fail to recognize as we should the part that anti-religious forces are playing in shaping it. In all parts of the world we are facing common enemies. Never was there a more critical moment. The best men must be mobilized. The wisest strategy must be employed. The materialistic philosophy of the day, the violence of the destructive communistic activity, the powers of paganism and of faiths and systems contrary to the teachings of Christ, the reactionary attitude of so many governments with reference to religious liberty, the perilous subordination of religion to serve the political ends of the totalitarian conception of the state, and the necessity of recasting the prevailing industrial and commercial system so that it will not negative the principles of Christian love and brotherhood nor conduce to international war—all present a challenge to Christ's followers which has never been surpassed in gravity and urgency. In truth we are facing stupendous changes in the whole make-up of the world, changes as revolutionary as any in this history of mankind."

JOHN R. MOTT in *Cooperation and the World Mission,* page 7, International Missionary Council.

Racial Hatred in America

"The real progenitor of the Black Legion is the Ku Klux Klan, as witness the hoods, the night riding, the whips and ropes, and all the rest of the stupid yet infinitely dangerous paraphernalia of this upsurgence of American bigotry and lust. No need to go to Germany or any other distant place to understand what's going on! This latest expression of organized criminality is native in its origin, native in its character, native in its methods and purposes. It is the under side of this country suddenly turned up to reveal the writhing vermin which we breed. It is terrifying to recall that the members of this Black Legion are all of them ordinary

American citizens, just such men as you would meet anywhere in this broad land. It is still more terrifying to remember that these blackhooded gangsters were all educated in our American public schools, and thus are products of our boasted system of education. It is perhaps most terrifying of all to be reminded that these men are Protestants, basing their hatred of Jews, Catholics, and Negroes on their loyalty to the Christ they became acquainted with in Church and Sunday School. No, brethren, we can't dodge this responsibility. The Black Legion is the plant of our sowing, the child of our breeding. What's the matter with America that such things can be?"

Editorial in *"Unity."*

Tension Between Church and Community

"In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this tension between the Christian conscience and the standards of the community has in some ways become more acute and open and has had quite new and unprecedented developments.

"On the one hand, the Christian churches have, in many ways, displayed more vigor than ever before and have enforced more rigorously their standards of membership than at any time since the first two or three centuries of the Christian era. In no other century and a half of Christian history have the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches given rise to so many new movements. Roman Catholicism has given birth to more orders and congregations than in all the preceding course of its history. Within Protestantism has come revival after revival, and such movements have arisen as the Sunday Schools, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor, and the many student Christian organizations. Both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism have been actively missionary. The past century and a half has been the greatest missionary period in the history of the Church. Moreover, the Church has probably exercised a greater influence over the life of mankind than at any previous time. The anti-slavery campaigns, the agitation against war, and the many other humanitarian movements of the past century and a half had at least much of their origin in the Christian conscience and have had a profound effect on the life of the race.

"On the other hand, never in communities which are traditionally Christian has dissent from Christianity been so open and vocal. Scepticism of the basic tenets of Christianity has been more pronounced and more voluble than ever before. . . .

"This nineteenth and twentieth century divorce of Church and community, then, has arisen out of two movements: on the one hand, a greater vigor within the Church itself and a growing impatience with the compromises involved in being the recognized faith of the community; and, on the other hand, a growing open rejection on the part of a large proportion of the community of the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith.

KENNETH S. LATOURETTE in an unpublished manuscript.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why is the world in such confusion? Is it
   a. Because it has become too complex?
   b. Or are people too selfish?
   c. Or are our difficulties due to the interference of governments?
   d. Or is our whole system obsolete?
2. How do you account for the rising tide of nationalism, with its emphasis upon the State as the supreme object of allegiance? Is it due
   a. To inherent weakness in the system of free competition and free self-expression which obtains in democratic societies? Or
   b. To an inherent craving for authority in man which finds no adequate satisfaction in our existing political and ecclesiastical systems? Or is it merely due
   c. To the specific evils caused by the Versailles Treaty with its attempt to maintain the fruits of victory by force?
3. What other factors account for our present world chaos besides the political and economic factors already noted?

   What evidence is there of the rise of racial tension in various parts of the world.?

   How account for the relative bankruptcy of art and culture as unifying factors in contemporary life? Is this due to the fact that art and culture have become so largely divorced from religion?
4. Why is there a violent reaction against religion in many parts of the world? Is this due to the spread of scientific knowledge? Or is it because religious leaders are regarded as defenders of an unjust economic system? Or, again, is it because religion has been emasculated by the domination of the State? Or is it because religion is demanding more from its followers today than in previous centuries?

STUDY TWO

IS CONSCIENCE TO BE SUPREME, OR IS THE STATE?

We must obey God rather than man. Acts 5:29.

WHAT THE HEADLINES TELL

REICH CLERGY WARN HITLER HE DOES NOT OUTRANK GOD

TEACHER EXPELLED FROM N. J. SCHOOL FOR REFUSAL TO SALUTE FLAG

SOVIETS EXPOSE ALLEGED RELIGIOUS MIRACLES

BORAH DEMANDS INVESTIGATION OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN MEXICO

JEWISH CONGRESS APPEALS TO CHRISTIANS TO STOP FASCISM

"HEIL HITLER" REPLACING "GOD BLESS YOU" IN GERMANY

THE FACTS BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Is conscience to be supreme, or is the state? To this question Christians, Moslems, Jews, and followers of many other religions would at once answer: Conscience must be supreme, since it is through conscience that God speaks, and God is Lord of all.

Christians differ from Moslems and Jews in their answer to the question of how God reveals his will to the conscience. Moslems find God's supreme revelation in the Koran, Jews in the Old Testament, Christians in the life, teaching, and person of Jesus Christ as recorded in the Bible and interpreted to his Church by the Divine Spirit. But all alike agree that God is the Lord of the whole earth and that all nations alike are subject to his will.

Yet the world is today threatened with anarchy and war because so of God, and even poses as the protector of the Church, yet the State is absolutely supreme and must insist on the unqualified obedience of its people, regardless of whether these commands are contrary to religious teachings and conscientious scruples.

In Russia the ruling party scoffs at religion as the opiate of the people and carries on a systematic attempt to uproot whatever remains of faith in God, substituting a faith in dialectical materialism.

In Germany the government nominally acknowledges the sovereignty of God, and even poses as the protector of the Church, yet the State is practically supreme claiming to be "the instrument of God" in "the interpretation of political expediency."

In Japan, Christians are forced to bow at Shinto shrines, since in

modern Japan, as in ancient Rome, worship of the emperor is made the supreme test of patriotism.

In the United States the Supreme Court has ruled that applicants for citizenship in taking the oath of allegiance cannot make any reservations to guard their consciences, but must make an unqualified promise to bear arms whenever called to do so, regardless of what they think the will of God may be.

Yet in all these countries there are earnest Christians who are willing to suffer persecution and social ostracism rather than make the will of the national state supreme, insisting that in matters political as in all others they must obey God rather than man.

THE ISSUE THAT CONFRONTS CHRISTIANS

If the nations will recognize their mutual interdependence and act accordingly, there is hope of peace and order. But if each nation claims absolute authority to decide what is right and wrong on the basis of national self-interest, then inevitably we shall have war and chaos. This raises an issue of fundamental importance. Is there a power superior to the individual state to which all nations owe allegiance? Or must the claim of each nation to ultimate sovereignty go unchallenged? But the answer to this question raises further questions. If individual national sovereignty be the last word, how shall we avoid the destruction of civilization ? On the other hand, if God is in control, who is to interpret his will?

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE STATE OF THE WORLD

For Fascism the State is an Absolute

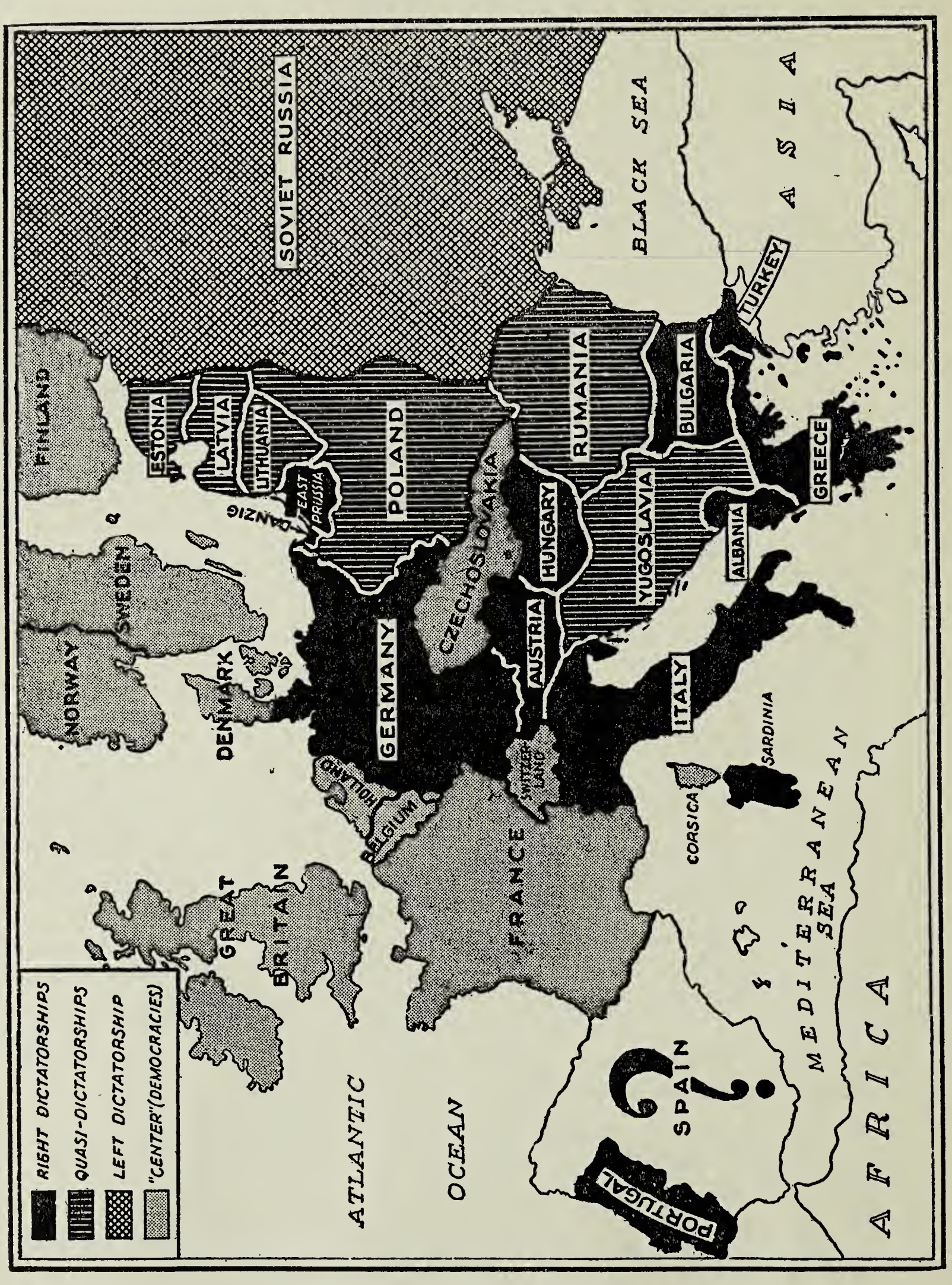
"The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State, its character, its duty, and its aim. Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the State. . . . And the State is not only a living reality of the present, it is also linked with the past and above all with the future, and thus transcending the brief limits of individual life, it represents the immanent spirit of the nation."

BENITO MUSSOLINI in *Enciclopedia Italiana,* 1932.
Published in *International Conciliation,* Jan. 1935, by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Reich Clergy Alarmed at Hitler's Picture on Church Altars

"Our people threaten to break down the barrier set up by God; they wish to make of themselves the measure of all things. That is human arrogance, that rises up against God.

"In this connection we must make known to the Fuehrer and Chancellor our uneasiness over the fact that he is often revered in form that is due to God alone. It is only a few years ago that the Fuehrer himself



A Dictatorship Map of Europe
New York Times, September 20, 1936
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disapproved of his picture being placed on Evangelical altars. His judgment is taken to be the standard unrestrainedly today not only in political decisions, but also in regard to morality and justice in our people, and he himself is vested with the dignity of the national priest, and even of the mediator between God and the people."

Protest of Leaders of German Evangelical Church, as printed in *The New York Herald-Tribune,* July 28, 1936.

What the Nazis Mean by "Positive Christianity"

"We recognize today that the general ideas of the Roman and of the Protestant Churches are negative Christianity, and do not, therefore, accord with our soul, and we see that they stand in the way of the organized forces of the nations following nordic-racial principles, that they have to make room for these forces, and that they must allow themselves to be transformed within the meaning of Germanic Christianity." (Herr Rosenberg)

"We do not meddle with the interpretation of the Gospel. God's command in regard to the exposition of the Gospel should be placed higher than the command of human intermediaries. In the interpretation of political expediency we hold ourselves to be the instrument of God." (Dr. Goebbels)

"Right is what serves the people; wrong what is detrimental to them." (Dr. Frank)

Quoted in Protest of Leaders of the German Evangelical Church, printed in *The New York Herald-Tribune,* July 28, 1936.

Nationalism as a Religion

"Nationalism as a religion inculcates neither charity nor justice; it is proud, not humble; and it signally fails to universalise human aims. It repudiates the revolutionary message of St. Paul and proclaims anew the primitive doctrine that there shall be Jew and Greek, only that now there shall be Jew and Greek more quintessentially than ever. Nationalism's Kingdom is frankly of this world, and its attainment involves tribal selfishness and vainglory, a particularly ignorant intolerance and war."

CARLTON J. H. HAYES in *Essays on Nationalism,* p. 125.
By permission of the Macmillan Company.

The First Totalitarian State on American Continent

"Mexico represents today the first emergence of a totalitarian state on the American continent. We have now to the immediate south of us one of those new political phenomena in which the state becomes converted to all intents and purposes into a church, and assumes the right of invading the shrine of conscience in a way we associate historically with some tyrannical forms of ecclesiastical organization. Said Unamuno on one occasion, "With us a radical is a Catholic upside down." He meant to

say that the form of radicalism which tends to be produced in Spanish-speaking countries conserves the formal fanatical qualities that we associate with Spanish Catholicism, while substituting one dogmatic content for another. The new totalitarianism in Mexico, legitimate successor of the older ecclesiastical totalitarianism, which had converted the church into a state, follows a policy of increasing centralization of the affairs of government, and of increasing hostility to expression of life and thought that runs counter to official ideals. Thus the government is carrying out an increasing regimentation of Mexican life, in the modification of administrative machinery, in the theory and practice of education, in the sphere of religious freedom, in the tests applied to candidates for official positions. As regards the attitude of Mexican totalitarianism toward religion, it is interesting to compare it with the attitude of similar states in other parts of the world. Russia denies the right of religious propaganda, Turkey of religious conversion, Germany of religious sovereignty. Mexico in nine of her states denies the right of religious reunion."

The Mexican Enigma, by JOHN MACKAY,
The Presbyterian Tribune, May 16, 1935.

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE ISSUES CONFRONTING CHRISTIANS

Church and State a Burning Question in Europe

"The nature of the church, its function and its structure has never been clearly defined in most Continental countries. The national churches have lived on an ecclesiastical traditionalism and have carefully avoided discussion on the principle that it is better to let sleeping dogs lie. They have hesitated to accept the ampler social outlook of the Christian thought of a later day, which demands an unfettered church and the application of the Gospel to the whole of life.

"The church is a recent problem in Continental Protestantism, but of late it has become a burning question, especially in Lutheran countries, where legislation following the war compelled churches to organize themselves independently. Throughout Europe an effort is being made to find the fundamental evangelical idea of the church and to describe its specific action. The same need was not felt to so great a degree in Calvanistic Protestantism, where the church was already organized on democratic principles; or in England, where for centuries much thought had been given to the nature and purpose of the church. . . .

"The principle of disestablishment is making its way nearly everywhere in Europe, accompanied by financial difficulties which are nearly insurmountable in a period of economic crisis. It is, however, bringing emancipation and spiritual autonomy."

KELLER and STEWART in *Protestant Europe; Its Crisis and Outlook,*
pp. 77-78, Harper & Bros.

Supreme Court on Allegiance to God and to the Nation

"When he (Dr. Macintosh) speaks of putting his allegiance to the will of God above his allegiance to the government, it is evident, in the light of his entire statement, that he means to make *his own interpretation* of the will of God the decisive test which shall conclude the government and stay its hand. We are a Christian people (Holy Trinity Church v. United States, 143 U. S. 457, 470-471), according to one another the equal right of religious freedom, and acknowledging with reverence the duty of obedience to the will of God. But, also, we are a Nation with the duty to survive; a Nation whose constitution contemplates war as well as peace; whose government must go forward upon the assumption and safely can proceed upon no other that unqualified allegiance to the Nation and submission and obedience to the laws of the land, as well those made for war as those made for peace, are not inconsistent with the will of God."

Decision of the Court delivered by Mr. Justice Sutherland and concurred in by Justices VanDevanter, McReynolds, Butler, and Roberts, May 25, 1931.

Chief Justice Hughes Dissents in Macintosh Decision

"I am unable to agree with the judgment in the case. . . . When one's belief collides with the power of the State, the latter is supreme within its sphere and submission or punishment follows. But in the form of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the State has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation as a matter of principle, would unquestionably be made by many of our conscientious and law-abiding citizens. . . . The attempt to exact such a promise and thus to bind one's conscience by the taking of oaths or the submission of tests, has been the cause of many deplorable conflicts. The Congress has sought to avoid such conflicts in this country by respecting our happy tradition."

Justices Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone concurred in Chief Justice Hughes' dissenting opinion. May 25, 1931.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what countries today are problems in the relations of Church and State acute? In what countries is there less freedom of conscience than hitherto?

2. How do you account for the elation of spirit which multitudes of people feel, when they give their complete devotion to the State? What are the limits and perils of nationalism as a religion?

3. To what extent has the worship of the State become a religion in Russia? What marks of religion does it have? Is the idea of a "cosmic process favorable to communism," a satisfactory substitute for God? Why did the people turn against the Russian Orthodox Church?

4. What is the relation of Church and State in Italy? How effectively can the Church teach the idea of universality? Why was the Pope so cautious in dealing with the Ethiopian War?

5. How far has the worship of the State developed in Germany? What does the government mean when it claims to stand for "Positive Christianity?" (See readings.) What are the chief grounds for the protest of the leaders of the Confessional Church against the Nazi policies? What is their attitude toward the Jews?

6. How far does the State attempt to control conscience in America? Do you think that members of the sect of Jehovah's Witnesses should be expelled from school because they think it wrong to salute the flag? Must Christians acknowledge that the government is competent to interpret the will of God in regard to an individual's support of war? (See Supreme Court Decision in the Macintosh Case.)

7. Must Christians reach complete agreement on a theory of Church and State before they can act together to defend their faith in the present crisis? What guidance should we look for from the World Conference at Oxford in this respect?

STUDY THREE

EDUCATION OR REGIMENTATION, FREE SPEECH OR CENSORSHIP

Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. (John 8:32)

WHAT THE HEADLINES TELL

AIRTIGHT CENSORSHIP IMPOSED IN GREECE

ARGENTINA'S MUZZLED PRESS SUSPECTS MORE TROUBLE

TRUTH FOR TRUTH'S SAKE, ASSERTS DR. KREICK, HAS NO PLACE IN GERMAN INSTITUTIONS

TEACHERS DEMAND BOYCOTT OF HEARST

FRENCH SENATE VOTES TEACHING OF PATRIOTISM

WOMEN IN PATRIOTIC CONFERENCE DEMAND COMPULSORY LOYALTY OATHS FOR TEACHERS

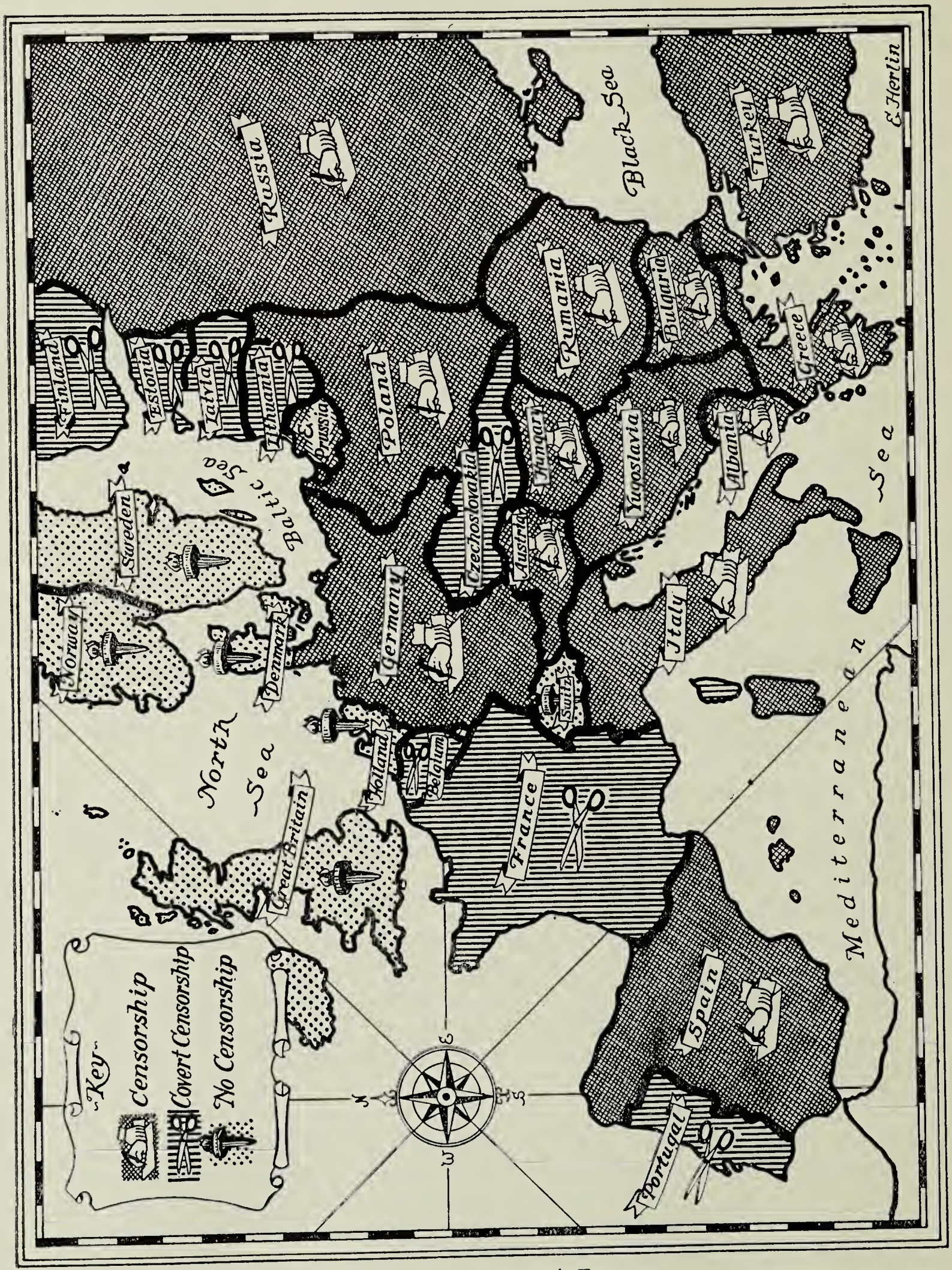
THE FACTS BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The world is today more committed to education than at any time in the past. Not only has the idea of the universal education of children spread round the globe, but there is a new interest in adult education which is made infinitely easier by the motion pictures and the radio.

Yet just at this juncture the very foundations of education are seriously threatened. Though the triumphs of scientific research have demonstrated the value of an unfettered search for truth, there is today more deliberate suppression and perversion of truth than there has ever been.

The accompanying map shows how extensive are governmental censorships in Europe. But other continents are also seriously affected. In fact, Bruce Bliven of "The New Republic" has shown that two-thirds of the world's population live under a rigid censorship, while an additional two-ninths live under a fluctuating censorship, leaving only one-ninth of the world's inhabitants who have as much freedom as exists in the United States and Great Britain.

With censorship acting as a wall to keep out the true facts of the present world situation many governments are carrying on an intensive indoctrination and regimentation of their people. History is taught in such a way as to keep alive old quarrels and to justify belligerent attitudes, and in some countries even scientific research is being curbed and made to support the ideas of the party in power. Church schools in some countries are being closed by the government or greatly hampered by restrictions.



A Censorship Map of Europe

"Most of the Censorships Are Disguised and Covert in Operation."
New York Times Magazine, June 2, 1935. Used by permission.

In our own country there is a good deal of suppression of news through the influence of various interests. There are also movements to require loyalty oaths of teachers, and to expel pupils whose conscientious scruples will not allow them to salute the flag. Political campaigns have been waged on the contents of the history books used in the schools, and school superintendents have been dismissed because they would not delete facts unpalatable to the extreme nationalists.

THE ISSUE THAT CONFRONTS CHRISTIANS

The facts thus briefly indicated urgently call for a careful study of the place of education in modern life, and the Christian's duty to see to it that his right to witness to the truth as God has given him to see it, is not impaired. There is nothing in the bare principle of freedom itself which brings salvation. Freedom, like authority, is justified by the use which we make of it. How can we retain freedom without the loss of order and unity? Where shall we draw the line between education, indoctrination, and propaganda? In particular, what is the function of religion in education, and how shall Christians secure for themselves and for the world the liberty of thought and expression which is now so seriously threatened?

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE STATE OF THE WORLD

Hitler's Art of Propaganda

"I soon came to realize that the right use of propaganda was a regular art which was practically unknown to the bourgeois parties. (Page 75). . . . It is nothing more nor less than a weapon—a really terrible one in the hands of one who understands it. (Page 76) . . .

"All propaganda should be popular and should adapt its intellectual level to the receptive ability of the least intellectual of those whom it is desired to address. Thus it must sink its mental elevation deeper in proportion to the numbers of the mass whom it has to grip.

"The receptive ability of the masses is very limited, their understanding small; on the other hand, they have a great power of forgetting. This being so, all effective propaganda must be confined to very few points which must be brought out in the form of slogans until the very last man is enabled to comprehend what is meant by any slogan. (Pages 76-77) . . .

"Fine oratory by a dominant apostolic character will be more successful in the evening in inducing men, whose powers of resistance are by that late hour sensibly weakened in the natural course, than men who are in full possession of their energy of mind and volition. (Page 201) . . .

"Mass assemblies are necessary because, while attending them, the individual who feels on the point of joining a young movement and takes

alarm if left by himself receives his first impression of a larger community, and this has a strengthening and encouraging effect on most people. (Pages 202-203) . . .

ADOLF HITLER in *My Battle,* Houghton Mifflin Co.

What Mussolini Wants to Make Out of the Masses

"You see, then, what we fascists want to make out of the masses. We want to organize their collective life; to teach them to live, to work, and to fight in a great fellowship—but in a hierarchy, not in a mere herd. We want the humanity and beauty of a communal life. We know that foreigners are puzzled by us! The individual is, in a sense, taken away from the family as early as the age of six, and is restored to it at the age of sixty. Believe me, the individual loses nothing thereby but is multiplied."

Talks with Mussolini by EMIL LUDWIG, page 126.

The Poisoned Springs of World News

"This, then, is the situation in the brutalitarian states: the dictators 'make' the news by controlling the main source of world news, the governmental press bureaus; and they control every word in their own nations' newspapers, the second important source used by the foreign correspondent; they install an official censorship, as in Russia, or they deny a censorship and employ it just the same, as in Italy; finally they offer financial inducements, as free telegrams in Italy, and refund on all cable tolls, as in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, etc., and they have other awards, such as ribbons for those Americans who work for them, while for the others they have imprisonment, expulsion, threats of physical violence (Italy and Germany), and a system of espionage which weakens the nerves of any man."

GEORGE SELDES in *Freedom of the Press,* page 249, Copyright 1935. Used by special permission of the Publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE ISSUES CONFRONTING CHRISTIANS

Churches Deprived of Youth Organizations in Germany

"The Evangelical Church's own youth organization was long since taken away from it by an agreement between the Reich Youth Leader and the Reich Bishop, who was in no sense entitled to enter into such an agreement.

"The chief leaders of the organized youth continually hold up their church to the Evangelical youth as being contemptuous and suspicious, and endeavor to undermine the youth's faith in their religion. . . . On the signboard of the Hitler Youth at Halle on the Saale: 'Where are the

enemies of our Hitler Youth? They are the religious fanatics, who still today fall on their knees with wistful looks directed upward, who spend their time attending churches and praying. We, as Hitler boys, can regard only with contempt or derision young people who still today run to their ridiculous Evangelical or Catholic clubs to give themselves up to eminently superfluous religious reveries."

Protest of Leaders of German Evangelical Church—
The New York Herald-Tribune, July 28, 1936.

"Defanaticization" Campaign in Mexican Schools

"The Mexican government has embarked upon a campaign of 'defanaticization,' by which it means a campaign to eradicate religious fanaticism and prejudices from the minds of the people and to give them in their stead a rational and scientific view of the universe. In some states of the Mexican Union teachers are required to swear that they profess no religion and that they do not practice any religious act, either in public or in private. They are presented with a list of anti-religious themes, one of which they are required to deal with each week in a special lesson to their classes. Some few states which happen to have liberal governors have so far refused to put into operation the amendment to the constitution which makes such education obligatory, while others interpret it in a very much milder form. The plight of parents as well as teachers who happen to be sincere Roman Catholics or Protestants is apparent."

JOHN MACKAY in *The Presbyterian Tribune,* May 16, 1935.

Our Universities Have No Unifying Principle

"Without theology or metaphysics a unified university cannot exist. Both are almost totally missing today. And with them have gone any intelligent basis for the study of man in his relations with other men. The truths of ethics, for example, are now merely common-sense teachings about how to get along in the world. Morals degenerate into the mores unless they have a higher meaning imparted to them by theology or metaphysics."

PRESIDENT HUTCHINS of University of
Chicago in *Yale Review,* June, 1936.

Menace of Nationalism in Education

"There is one great force militating against that enlightened public opinion which constitutes the most effective guarantee of peace. That force is education. While statesmen and jurists at Geneva are exercising the highest intelligence and the most careful diplomacy in smoothing the path to a new world order, writers of text books and teachers of reading, history, geography and civics are training the world's children to nationalistic narrowness, to nationalistic prejudices. . . . To their own country, teachers and texts give disproportionate attention, magnifying its achieve-

ments and those of its leaders, past and present, keeping silent in regard to its faults or 'rationalizing' these into virtues. Other countries they tend to neglect, disparage or criticize severely. To the international idea some lip service is being paid; but there is little real enthusiasm for it where it appears to conflict with some cherished national prejudice. Thus, what should be a training for world culture and an international point of view becomes education in compartments. And the prejudices thus inculcated in the impressionable years of childhood, remain throughout life, and form the basis of that miscalled partiotism to which the opportunistic and chauvinistic press so easily appeals, and which in time of crisis it stirs to arms. . . .

"It is intolerable that in the name of love of country the world's children should be taught to distrust, even to hate, one another. Let the nations disarm as they will, there can be no enduring peace without disarmament of the human spirit."

JONATHAN F. SCOTT in *The Menace of Nationalism in Education,* pp. 16, 18.

Protection Against Mental Slavery of Totalitarian States

A powerful revival of the medieval feeling for the universal, non-national and non-racial character of truth is the only protection for humanity against the encroachments of the Totalitarian State. . . .

"No nations, no races, no learned bodies have anything to lose by favoring such an attitude. Never was the French influence more warmly welcomed, nor more universally felt than in the thirteenth century, when it exerted itself through that strange University of Paris, where not a single one of the most famous professors was French.

"This is one of the most useful lessons we can learn from the Middle Ages, and one that should remain before our minds as a safeguard against the worst kind of slavery to which mankind is now being submitted by Totalitarian States—mental slavery.

"In the conviction that there is nothing in the world above universal truth lies the very root of intellectual and social liberty."

PROF. ETIENNE GILSON of the University of Paris, at Harvard Tercentenary, as quoted in *"Non-Racial Truth" Called Liberator* by William L. Laurence in *The New York Times,* Sept. 3, 1936.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How far do you think the facts about the extent of censorship in the contemporary world raise issues which concern us (a) as Americans, (b) as Christians?

   What is likely to be their effect (a) upon democratic institutions, (b) upon the Church?

2. How do you account for the ease with which Mussolini and Hitler have been able to carry through the suppression of free discussion? Is it due (a) to a lack of intelligence on the part of the masses, (b) to the fact that men need a more positive faith than our existing liberalism has yet been able to supply?

3. How far would you agree with President Hutchins that the modern university has lost its unity with a consequent degeneracy both in the field of ethics and of science? How far may the Christian view of life supply the needed unity, as it did in the Middle Ages?

4. Is President Angell right in feeling that the loyalty oaths required of teachers in many states are a real peril to American education? Are they a revelation of the presence in this country of tendencies similar to those which are responsible for censorship abroad?

5. How far is the average church in America willing to go in allowing its ministry freedom in discussing ethical aspects of business and politics? Why is it that business and political organizations, when criticized by the clergy, retaliate by saying that the clergy should stick to the Gospel?

STUDY FOUR

WHAT CAN RELIGION CONTRIBUTE TO ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND SECURITY?

Take heed and beware of covetousness for a man's life consiseth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. (Luke 12:15)

* * *

The laborer is worthy of his hire. (Luke 10:7)

WHAT THE HEADLINES TELL

POVERTY CAUSES SPAIN'S ILLS

SUPREME COURT UPSETS MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

200-FAMILY OLIGARCHY DEPRIVED OF CONTROL OF BANK OF FRANCE

NEW ZEALAND ACTS TO REDUCE JOBLESS

FATHER COUGHLIN DENOUNCES THE MONEY CHANGERS

PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER FLOGGED FOR HELPING SHARE CROPPERS

THE FACTS BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Unemployment is no new thing in the world. What is new is the presence of persistent, and in many cases growing, unemployment in a world where the advance of technological science makes it possible to produce enough and to spare to meet the needs of men.

It is generally recognized that part of our present trouble is due to the Great War. When farmers of Europe were called to the armies, our farmers greatly expanded their production, only to suffer a terrible slump when the war was over. Factories erected to produce munitions, found little to do when peace came. The war debts prevented a healthy recovery and inflation of currency practiced by many countries proved to be disastrous. In spite of these facts, many nations are now trying to produce artificial prosperity by a vast increase in their manufacture of munitions.

But though the war accounts for some of our troubles, it does not explain them all. There is an increasing tendency for wealth to be concentrated in the hands of the few—a tendency which cannot be accounted for entirely by the war or by natural differences in ability or acquisitiveness. This tendency not only causes widespread discontent, but also further upsets our economic structure because the poor cannot buy all the things they need, and the rich cannot use all the things they can buy.

A non-partisan study of the cause of this condition, by the Brookings Institution of Washington, D. C., has led to the conclusion that the

chief source of our difficulty is found in the failure to pass on to the public the savings in manufacturing costs which modern technique makes possible. In other words, prices have been kept high by monopolies, cartels and trade agreements. Other groups, however, feel that our whole system is unsound and must be totally rebuilt.

The Church is not committed to any particular economic system, for in its long existence it has lived under many systems. It cannot, however, be satisfied with any system which periodically throws out of employment millions of workers, with all the suffering which such experiences entail.

THE ISSUE THAT CONFRONTS CHRISTIANS

What can the Church do in such a situation? Its own members do not agree on any economic program, which is not strange, since even economists do not agree. Yet the Church cannot remain indifferent and uncensored.

There are three possible attitudes which Christians may take. They may disclaim all responsibility for changing the present economic system, confining themselves to works of charity and mercy. They may attempt to commit the Church to some one of the many alternatives which divide the allegiance of men—capitalism, socialism, Fascism, etc. They may recognize the Church's responsibility for judging the existing system by Christian principles, while leaving individuals and groups within their membership to advocate such remedies as may seem to them most promising in the light of all our available knowledge. Which of these three attitudes is the right one to take, and what does it involve?

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE STATE OF THE WORLD

Unequal Distribution of Income

"The second of the Brookings Institution's studies—America's Capacity to Consume—is an analysis of our national income. In 1929 we produced as a nation goods and services valued at approximately 81 billion dollars. If divided evenly among the entire population, this would have given each man, woman, and child in the United States an income of about $625. The 77 billion dollars received by the 27,500,000 family groups in the country would have given an average of $2,800 to each family. Actually, however, the great majority of American families did not have anything like so large an income . . . 6 million—or 21.5 per cent—of our families received less than $1,000 in 1929; 12 million had incomes under $1,500; over 16 million had less than $2,000; and more than 19 million, or 71 per cent of the total, were below $2,500. Only about one family out of twelve received as much as $5,000. At the other end of the income scale we find that 220,000 families, approximately eight-tenths of one per cent of the entire population, got over 20 per cent of the total national income. The 36,000 families at the extreme pinnacle of the income pyramid received in the aggregate

an amount equal to that obtained by the 12 million families with incomes less than $1,500—or over 300 times as much per family."

MAXWELL S. STEWART on *Income and Economic Progress,* p. 11. Public Affairs Committee.

What the Soviets Claim to Have Accomplished

"To sum up, we have:

a) An enormous increase in production both in the sphere of industry and in the main branches of agriculture. . . .

b) Final victory on the basis of this increase of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system in industry and in agriculture. . . .

c) The final abandonment by the overwhelming majority of the individual peasants of small commodity individual economy, their organization in collective farms on the basis of collective labor and the collective ownership of the means of production. . . .

d) The growing process of expansion of collective farms at the expense of individual peasant farms, as a consequence of which their number is diminishing month by month. . . . .

The liquidation of parasitic classes has led to the disappearance of the exploitation of man by man. . . .

Unemployment, that scourge of the working class, has disappeared."

JOSEPH STALIN, in *Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,* reported in *International Conciliation,* December, 1934. Published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Economic Reasons for Anti-Clericalism in Spain

"If the priesthood all over the world had begun forty years ago to preach these principles of greater justice and opportunity for the common man, it might not today be subjected to such odium as it suffers in Spain. Unfortunately, the majority of them in places where these principles are most needed to be preached were subject to control of monarchies.

"Autocratic governments controlled both their property and their salaries. They could not raise their voices for the common man without inviting their own destruction."

BISHOP MICHAEL J. GALLAGHER in a foreign newspaper dispatch.

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE ISSUES CONFRONTING CHRISTIANS

Kagawa and Consumer Cooperation

"After a visit to America, he (Kagawa) tried to help the people through organizations as workers. He helped to found the Japanese Federation of Labor. He led its members in strikes. He served time in jail. He was persecuted and his efforts at reform checkmated. But he kept on. He

persevered until he saw that even this type of organization could do little to help his people. They needed something more than this. . . .

"So Kagawa turned to Consumer Cooperation. In its principles he saw outlined an economic order that squared with the ethics of the Christianity he had accepted. So Kagawa began the greatest religious reform of modern times. He went among them, showing them how to set up their own cooperatives. He helped them to form credit unions to pool their scanty funds. He went down into the slums and started cooperative hospitals. He showed the poverty-stricken fishermen how to form cooperative to buy their boats and nets and market their catch. He went into the rural districts and helped the farmers form cooperatives to buy seed and fertilizer and to market farm products. Then, as the people began to see the benefits, as they began to see a gleam of hope on a horizon that had been blackened by despair, this remarkable man began to preach to them, 'This is economic Christianity. In this way the principle of Christianity works when it is applied to economic affairs.' "

BERTRAM B. FOWLER in *Consumer Cooperation in America,* pp. 279-280, The Vanguard Press.

A Declaration by Christians Who Advocate Socialism

"The Fellowship of Socialist Christians are agreed in their conviction that a Christian ethic is most adequately expressed and effectively applied in our society in socialist terms. They believe that the Christian church should recognize the essential conflict between Christianity and the ethics of capitalistic individualism. They believe that the evolutionary optimism of current liberal Christianity is unrealistic and that changes fundamental enough to prevent destructive social upheaval will require a combination of social intelligence and ethical vigor not yet in sight. Remedies for specific abuses are no adequate substitute for the reconstruction of the economic order so that production may be primarily for the use of all and not for the profit of the privileged . . . "

From statement of the *Fellowship of Socialist Christians.*

A Catholic View of Economic Systems

"Of course I do not mean to say that they [Communism, National Socialism, and Capitalism and Liberal Democracy] are all absolutely equivalent, and that we have no right to prefer one to another. But I do believe that a Christian cannot regard any of them as a final solution of the problem of civilization, or even as a tolerable one. Christianity is bound to protest against any social system which claims the whole of man and sets itself up as a final end of human action, for it asserts that man's essential nature transcends all political and economic forms. . . .

"But it does not follow that because Catholicism is absolutely opposed to Communism and Socialism, it is therefore committed to the defence of the capitalist order. . . . On the contrary, the capitalist order of society itself owes its origin to the revolt against the Catholic tradition."

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON in *Religion and the Modern State.* Sheed & Ward.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What goals or standards for economic life are implicit in the Christian gospel?
2. What are the causes of the economic stress of our time?
   (a) Are they incidental to the consequences of the World War?
   (b) Are they chiefly the moral failures of the persons in control?
   (c) Are they inherent in the structure of the economic system?
3. What should be the attitude of Christians to the following proposals for economic change?
   (a) Controlled capitalism (the New Deal)?
   (b) Socialism?
   (c) Communism?
   (d) The Townsend Plan?
   (e) Cooperatives?
4. What is the function of the Church in a time of economic stress and of social struggles?
   (a) To maintain morale?
   (b) To preach "principles"?
   (c) To seek to unify on a spiritual level all economic groups?
   (d) To distribute relief?
   (e) To preach against greed?
   (f) To interpret the situation?
   (g) To defend the existing order?
   (h) To advocate fundamental change?
   (i) To identify itself with one or another of the proposals for change?
5. Why have radical groups so often broken with the Church?
   Why are Communists anti-religious?
   What has been the record of the churches in the past century in regard to the economic problem?
6. What should be the attitude of Christians to the following:
   (a) Labor unions?
   (b) Strikes?
   (c) Civil liberties during industrial struggles?
   (d) Child labor?
   (e) A constitutional amendment making possible federal labor legislation?
   (f) The violence which sometimes accompanies labor disputes?
   (g) The plight of the share-croppers?
7. Do we have economic classes in America?
8. What do you think of the "Social Creed of the Churches"?
   What is the official position of your own denomination on these questions and what do you think of it?

STUDY FIVE

CAN WE HAVE PEACE, OR MUST WE HAVE WAR?

The Kingdom of God is righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. (Romans 14:17)

WHAT THE HEADLINES TELL

REARMING BRINGS BOOM IN ENGLAND

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ABANDONS SANCTIONS

DUCE SAYS EIGHT MILLION MEN IN ITALY READY TO FIGHT

JAPAN AND CHINA NEAR VAST WAR

FRANCE NATIONALIZES MUNITIONS INDUSTRY

U. S. AUTHORIZES LARGEST PEACE-TIME MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS

THE FACTS BEHIND THE HEADLINES

During the last few years there has been a very active search for the cause and cure of war. But in spite of the vast amount of earnest effort, the world has had a succession of little wars and now is in imminent danger of a titanic struggle. The League of Nations has not only been unable to bring about disarmament; it has been impotent to check wars of conquest conducted by members of its own Council.

Some of the causes of war are, however, clearer than they were before. Recent studies have shown that the generally accepted theories of population pressure, land hunger, need for colonial sources of raw material as causes of war, are largely a myth. In fact, modern Imperialism has been proved to be an economic liability to the nations that practice it. However, if a nation can be convinced that its economic status will be improved by a war of conquest, it is likely to embark on such a venture because censorship will not allow the true facts to become known. Thousands will gladly die for policies which will possibly enrich a few individuals, but which will actually be a burden to the whole people.

Though many claim that the Great War can be explained by economic factors, yet it remains true that in remaking the map of Europe the victors tried mainly to satisfy nationalistic sentiment and created new nations which are economically unable to subsist.

We look then more to psychological factors as the deep-seated causes of war, to nationalism whipped up by propaganda; to old quarrels which are kept alive when they should be forgotten; to deliberate manipulation of the masses by dictators according to their personal whims and exigencies, in a word to man's innate longing for power and prestige.

THE ISSUE THAT CONFRONTS CHRISTIANS

There is no single subject on which Christians the world over feel more deeply than on the peril and evils of war. There is no subject on which during the years since the Great War have ended they have expended more labor than in the effort to make a peaceful world. Why then has this effort met with so little success?

Have we expected too speedy results? Have we trusted too much to a direct attack on war, without removing the causes that produce it? Or is war a permanent and unavoidable part of human life?

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE STATE OF THE WORLD

Fascism Repudiates Ideal of Peace

"Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace. It thus repudiates the doctrine of Pacifism—born of a renunciation of the struggle and an act of cowardice in the face of sacrifice. War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it. All other trials are substitutes, which never really put men into the position where they have to make the great decision—the alternative of life or death."

BENITO MUSSOLINI in *Enciclopedia Italiana,* 1932. Published in *International Conciliation,* Jan. 1935, by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Economic Value of Colonies a Myth

"Since 1880, however, the cash costs to the countries which have used force to get or keep control of colonies unquestionably have been very substantially more than any possible cash profits derived from the trade with the territories controlled. Germany and Italy have spent more directly on their colonies than the total value of the trade with them: Italy's margin of expense over trade value was very large, even before the present drive into Ethiopia started.

"Furthermore, the fallacy of the claim that a country really can make itself materially less dependent on foreign sources of supply and on foreign markets, by adding to the territory under its control is strikingly demonstrated by the actual trade record of the colony-holding countries.

"Not one of them does as much as a fourth of its trade with its colonies.

"Nor does one of the colony holding countries get from the overseas territories which it controls as much as a fifth of the raw materials and the foodstuffs which it requires, or sell to these regions as much as a third of the products of its factories."

GROVER CLARK in *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism,* pp. 3-4. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Fallacy of Population Pressure As Cause of War

"In 1913, twenty years after Germany got most of her colonies, there were fewer than 20,000 Germans of all occupations in all the German colonies.

"Since 1886 (to 1936) the total net Italian migration to all of Africa has been just about 7,000.

"Between 1865 and 1924 over 17,000 more Hollanders *entered* the Netherlands from the colonies than left for these colonies, even though the Netherlands is one of the most thickly settled countries in the world.

"Between 1925 and 1933, Japan's population increased eight millions. The total net emigration from Japan to all her colonies in that same period was less than 294,000."

GROVER CLARK in *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism,* p. 10. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Why Mussolini Conquered Ethiopia

"It (the Ethiopian campaign) obviously was the proper course, and the reasons are not far to seek. It would work up the masses into the enthusiasm of easy conquest, it would provide a proper release for the suffocation psychosis and the various complexes of the Italian masses; it would settle the social question in the Eldorado way. There has since been some talk of shipping a million colonists to Africa. From the statesman's point of view, it is both improbable and unnecessary. The peasant masses have never troubled the sleep of dictators. A model colony of, say, some ten thousand families would be more than enough to keep the press and the people busy following developments. . . .

"Those impressive statistics which claim to expose the fallacy of colonial expansion unfortunately include no charts of the many feelings that come to a conquering army advancing through the unmapped lunar landscape of the Ethiopian mountains, the experience of high adventure, of rushing teamwork, of a life worth while, that go with the occupation of the wide open spaces. The simple Italian peasant lad has experienced those feelings, as many soldiers' letters show. It matters little that this state of grace was brought about by skillful emotional engineering; the scale itself of the adventure, even its relation to outside world conditions are only secondary considerations."

"Italicus" in *Atlantic Monthly,* August, 1936.

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE ISSUES CONFRONTING CHRISTIANS

Death Penalty Asked for Pacifist

(The following is an excerpt from the argument of the Judge Advocate at a court martial at Camp Funston, Kansas, on October 31, 1918, demanding the death penalty for a young man of twenty-four who had refused on conscientious scruples to bear arms. The sentence of the Court was life imprisonment, afterwards commuted to twenty-five years at hard labor. He was finally released after fourteen months in prison.)

"He (the accused) speaks of the Master whom he has to follow and the love of God. True, the love of God passeth all understanding, but did the love of God keep the devil and his angels from being driven out

of heaven, when he rebelled? No. The fact that He drove them out into hell shows that 'the love of God' has no such meaning as the accused sets forth. Had he been in heaven would the conscientious scruples of the accused have caused him to refuse to assist in driving out the devil? Even Christ, himself, became angry with the money changers. Didn't He take a whip and drive them out of the Temple? True, He didn't kill them, but He used physical force to drive them out of His House of Prayer. I ask the Court to consider if this case is not a question of cowardice, and ask for the death penalty."

From *Character Bad* by HAROLD S. GRAY, p. 187, Harper & Bros.

Cooperatives and World Peace

"Kagawa preached the futility of peace propaganda and disarmament conferences while the real cause of wars—unregulated and uncontrolled profit-seeking—was unchanged. Only by setting up a system of production for use, controlled and governed by the consumers—the masses of the people—to replace the system of production for profit, could we hope to abolish the carnage, suffering and poverty of war.

"Consumer Cooperation builds for peace. In exchanging a system of production for profit for one of production for use, it takes the business of the nation out of the hands of the profit-makers, who are the war-makers because they profit by war, and puts it into the hands of the masses, who hate war because they are its victims. When there are no profits to be made out of war there will be no war."

BERTRAM B. FOWLER in *Consumer Cooperation in America,* pp. 283-288, The Vanguard Press.

A Virile Gospel Needed to Combat War

"Our supreme need, then, is of a virile gospel. It is not enough to promise comfort; not enough to preach salvation. War's appeal is to the strong. Its compensation is spiritual—glory or honor, or the consciousness of duty done, or the thanks of a grateful country. If we are to win men from such a service we must offer similar rewards, greater glory, truer honor, a higher duty, the gratitude of mankind. Safety first may be a good motto for a railroad or a savings-bank; it will not do for a country, still less for a church. The religion that is to conquer the world must be a fighting religion. It must write on its banner New Wars for Old.

"Such a motto foreign missions offer the Church. Missions are religion's invitation to the spirit of adventure. They show us Christianity in its fighting mood, the Church organized for conquest. In missions we see the effort to realize the unity of mankind by the free sharing of each with all of the highest blessings of the spirit. We see love going into all the world to heal and to serve. But we see more than this. We see love appealing to the free spirit to become its own true self; to break the bonds of ignorance and sloth and indifference and unbelief with which it has too long been shackled, and to join the ranks of the healers and the sharers."

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN in *Is Christianity Practicable?* pp. 219-220, Chas. Scribner's Sons.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why are the churches so impotent before the threat of war? How far is it due to their being:
   (a) Divided and disunited?
   (b) Unable to rise above nationalistic feelings?
   (c) Victimized by propaganda?
   (d) Thwarted by political power?
   (e) Confused as to the best way back?

2. Why did the League of Nations fail in its attempt to stop the Ethiopian war? How far was it due to:
   (a) The absence of the United States, Germany, and Japan from the League?
   (b) Italy's threat to start a war in Europe if effective sanctions were imposed?
   (c) Unwillingness of other nations to abandon their own imperialistic policies and consequent lack of zeal in stopping Italy?

3. Should the churches do anything about the alleged economic causes of war?
   (a) Find out and disseminate the true facts?
   (b) Try to secure for every nation adequate access to raw materials and markets?
   (c) Foster international consumer cooperatives?
   (d) Help economic life of retarded countries through industrial missions?
   (e) Advocate new colonies for crowded nations?
   (f) Advocate nationalization of the munitions industry to take the profit out of war?

4. If war breaks out involving one's own nation what should the individual Christian do?
   (a) Support the war wholeheartedly?
   (b) Refuse to participate in any way?
   (c) Support wars to repel invaders, but refuse to invade other countries?

5. Should the churches supply Chaplains for the army? Would it be better to arrange for religious ministration to soldiers by clergymen not in the pay of the government?

6. What should we ask the World Conference to do in the way of formulating an effective strategy for the churches in dealing with the menace of war?

STUDY SIX

THE CHURCH, ITS MESSAGE AND STRATEGY

There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling: one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. (Ephesians 4:4-6)

WHAT THE HEADLINES TELL

THREE FAITHS JOIN FOR LOYALTY DAYS

FEDERAL COUNCIL SENDS OUT COMMON PRAYER FOR PERSECUTED OF WORLD

FUNDS SOUGHT TO SEND GERMAN CHRISTIAN REFUGEES TO SOUTH AMERICA

THE POPE BROADCASTS MESSAGE TO WORLD

PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY BY UNION OF FREE CHURCHMEN URGED

PLATFORM FOR REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM TO BE PRESENTED TO ANGLICANS

THE FACTS BEHIND THE HEADLINES

While the Church is constantly proclaiming its message far and wide, this message is meeting very great opposition, especially within what was once called Christendom.

Yet there are cogent reasons why the message of the Church is particularly applicable today. The genius of Christianity has always been shown in its ability to maintain a strong collective life, while at the same time it gave great opportunities for individual expression and development. It therefore offers a way of life, free on the one hand from the regimentation of the totalitarian state, and free on the other hand from the anarchy of extreme individualism. The same genius has been shown in the ability to enable its members to be loyal to their respective countries and yet to be devoted partners in a world fellowship. For in Christ there is a deep source of power which is able to transform and unite people of all races and tongues.

One reason why the Christian message often goes unheeded today is the fact that the Church is divided into so many communions, denominations, and sects; that the message is blurred by the great variety of emphases and interpretations, while the rivalries between different groups of Christians belie their claims to have found the way of love and brotherhood.

THE ISSUE THAT CONFRONTS CHRISTIANS

If the Church is to meet the present world crisis and convince men of the truth of its message, many feel that it must find some way to secure

greater unity and solidarity among Christians of various denominations and confessions. To be sure, progress has been steadily made in the last few decades in uniting different branches of the Church, but the process is a slow one and the prospect of effecting any large measure of organic unity is very remote, while the crisis is developing with exceeding rapidity. It is therefore imperative that Christians quickly find a basis of cooperation which will allow common action on those issues on which they already agree, and make possible a more convincing proclamation of the message of Jesus.

The issue before the Church then is two-fold: How can the rank and file of Christians be lifted above petty things to realize their world-wide mission in a day of peril? How can they be bound together in effective action against common dangers? How can they become in a real sense the channel of God's saving power?

READINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE MESSAGE AND STRATEGY OF THE CHURCHES

What Is The Christian Faith?

"It is the Christian faith that there is nothing worthy of our supreme devotion short of the reality to which we owe our existence. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that men in the search for the meaning of their lives cannot stop short of God. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that God is the final source of moral obligation. One of the surest facts of human life is the fact that there are moral obligations binding upon us which we cannot refuse without the sense of having somehow fallen. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that God is personal. . . . God is more like a person than like a thing, more like a person than like a machine, more like a person than a mathematical proposition, more like a person than like a tree. . . . Those characteristics which do apply to God are: awareness, intelligence, purposiveness, the capacity to appreciate, the capacity to respond to persons. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that we find the surest clue to the nature of God in Christ, in his personality, in his teaching about God, and in his own religious response to God. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that it is the purpose of God that love should be the norm for our lives and that the world should be the scene for a fellowship of persons which knows no barriers of race or class or nation and which is characterized by abundance of life, mutual love and common devotion to God. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that there is a judgment of God which can be observed in personal life and in the events of history. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that God forgives those who are honest with themselves about their sins and seek to turn from them. . . .

"It is the Christian faith that there is a movement of life in the world in which God is working most clearly to lift the level of the life of men. Christianity is not merely a set of ideas; primarily it is such a movement of life."

JOHN C. BENNETT in *Christianity—And Our World,* Copyrighted by The Edward W. Hazen Foundation; published by The Association Press.

What the Church Is Doing

"The Church is the only institution in the world which stands for the revelation of God in Christ and mediates that truth and its implications to the individual at every stage in his life day after day and year after year, at times of crisis and in life's routine. If it were not for that quiet and steady work of the Church, where would the average individual come in contact with Christian truth or where, for that matter, would he come in contact with any coherent interpretation of life?

"The Church is the only institution which deliberately offers people opportunity for public worship and seeks to train them in private worship. . . .

"The Church, more than any other institution, provides in most communities a spiritual fellowship which is essential to the higher and deeper life of most people. . .

"The Church is probably the only institution which stands for the whole of life in the modern community in a day in which every profession is specialized and education is secularized.

"The Church counsels and befriends people in the hardest places of life.

"The Church is a home for new agencies and movements before they have become self-supporting in the community."

JOHN C. BENNETT in *The Younger Churchmen Look at the Church,* by permission of The Macmillan Company.

Growing Unity Among Protestant Churches

"In the first three decades of our century more than a score of churches, embracing at least half of the total Protestant constituency in the United States, have entered into, and continued in, federated relationship on a national scale in closer cooperation in life and work. This body is known as The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. . . .

"Progress has been made also in organic union. In America, there have been eleven mergers in the last thirty years. In Canada, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Congregational Churches have come together in the United Church of Canada. In Scotland, a reunion of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church has been consummated. In England, the three Methodist bodies have been consolidated in one.

"The churches in the Orient have become pioneers and leaders in Christian unity. In China, sixteen different denominations have united.

In the Philippine Islands, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the United Brethren in Christ have done likewise. In Japan, China, and India, mission churches of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed, and Congregational faith and order have entered either into federation or organic union."

The Churches Move to Meet the Crisis, The Universal Christian Council.

The Ecumenical Movement

"By the ecumenical movement we mean the movement which tries to bring to expression the unity which is implicit in the different forms of historic Christianity and to furnish them with an organization through which, in spite of their differences, Christians can work and worship together.

"There are many different forms of this movement, but the most important are those which deal with the evangelistic work of the Church (as represented by the International Missionary Council), with the social service of the Church (as represented by the Universal Christian Conucil for Life and Work), and with the faith and order of the Church (as represented by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order.) . . .

"In 1914 a little group of Christians met at Constance, in Germany, and formed the *World Alliance for Friendship Through the Churches. . . .*

"From that modest beginning, under the leadership of that great soul, Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, came the movement which brought together at Stockholm in 1925, at the invitation of the King of Sweden, the *World Conference on Life and Work. . . .*

"The Stockholm Conference was a notable milestone on the road to Christian unity. It brought together for the first time since the war representatives of the Christian churches whose nationals had been fighting on opposite sides. They met as members of the one Church of Christ to take counsel together how they might repair the damage which the war had wrought. . . .

"When we adjourned we appointed a Continuation Committee, which in 1929 developed into what we know as the *Universal Christian Council for Life and Work.* This Council has become in a very real sense a clearing-house for the social service work of the churches on an international scale. . . .

"*The Conference on Faith and Order* owed its origin to the fact that the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, dealing as it did exclusively with the foreign missionary interests, did not feel free to consider questions of faith and order. Hence the suggestion, first made by the American Episcopal Church in 1910, that a special Conference be held for this purpose. That Conference met at Lausanne in 1927. The progress in

mutual understanding made in the two years which had intervened since Stockholm was notable. At Stockholm we did not feel free to discuss God's purpose for the world. At Lausanne we were not only able to discuss it, we were able to adopt by a unanimous vote a statement, drafted by Dr. Deissmann, the eminent German New Testament scholar, on 'The Church's Mission of the World.'

"The Conferences at Stockholm and at Lausanne were followed in 1928 by the Conference (of the *International Missionary Council*) at Jerusalem. . . .

"During the ten years or more since the Conferences of Stockholm and Lausanne the Continuation Committees of these bodies have met from year to year and there has been a steady growth of confidence among their leaders. There have been two developments of significance to which I will refer in a single word. One is the increasing conviction that these two movements are really parts of a single movement. . . .

"Back of this lies the second development. . . . This is the change of emphasis which is apparent in each. Faith and Order is becoming progressively more interested in the practical applications of its work, Life and Work in the theoretical implications of its practice."

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN in *The Need and the Possibility of an Ecumenical Theology.*

World's Student Christian Federation

"The Federation is a Federation of National (Student) Movements, each of which has its own distinctive character and relationships and retains it full autonomy. In some countries these Movements work in affiliation with or as a part of the National Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. Movements, whereas in other countries there are independent joint men's and women's Movements. There are at the present time twenty-three fully affiliated national Movements in all parts of the world. In addition to these there are corresponding Movements and pioneer Movements, with which the Federation is constantly in touch. In this way the Federation unites in fellowship and work 300,000 students in universities of forty-five countries. . . .

"The continuous interflow of life between the Movements of different countries is perhaps one of the most obvious signs of vitality. Anglo-American, European-American, Anglo-Orthodox, Franco-German, inter-Scandinavian, European meetings and conferences as well as interracial meetings in South Africa and elsewhere are only one expression of this process of cooperation and cross-fertilization."

From pamphlet published by the *World's Student Christian Federation.*

What the Individual Christian Can Do

"How, then, it may be asked, can the individual Christian cooperate in making the Church what it ought to be?

"In the first place he can take the claims of the personal Christian life more seriously. In the second place he can cooperate with other Christians in his own denomination to make that part of the Church a more effective instrument of Christ's will. In the third place, he can keep in touch with what is going on in the church-at-large and do his part in lending support to those larger enterprises which express the interests and tasks of the Church universal."

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why do the Christian Churches appear so ineffective in the face of the pressing issues on which many Christians feel so deeply?
   (a) Is it because Christians have not thought their way through to clear convictions?
   (b) Or, because there are sharp divisions of view among Christians?
   (c) Or, because the Churches are not united for effective action?
   (d) Or, because the Churches share the very ills in society which they wish to cure?
2. What *is* the "Christian message" to the world crisis? Is Professor Bennett's summary of the "Christian faith" true? Is it adequate? Is it complete? How would you modify or amplify his statement?
3. What is "the Christian Church"?
   a. The Second Presbyterian Church of Middletown, Indiana—*i.e.*, the local congregation?
   b. Or, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America *or* the Methodist Churches of the world—*i.e.*, the communion or denomination?
   c. Or, the Church of Christ in America *or* the Church of Christ in the World?
   d. Or, the Communion of Saints, the Church Catholic and Universal—*i.e.*, "the Body of Christ"?

   When we speak of "the Church" transforming the world *or* speaking on a great world issue, which "Church" do we mean?

4. What is the ideal for the Christian Church? How may it fulfill Paul's ideal of the "Body of Christ"?
    a. By becoming one single world-organization?
    b. Or, by federated unity of autonomous church bodies?
    c. Or, by cooperative action on specific issues?
5. What has the world a right to expect from the Church at such a time as this?
    a. Programs for political, social and economic action?
    b. Or, general principles to guide statesmen and economists?
    c. Or, individual Christian leaders in public life?
    d. Or, a demonstration within the Church's own life of the ideal fellowship?
6. What are the most important functions of each of the great world movements of the Churches mentioned above—the Universal Christian Council; the World Conference on Faith and Order; the International Missionary Council; the World Alliance; the World's Student Christian Federation? How can each contribute most to the present crisis? What should be the relationship between these bodies?
7. What specific help should the Churches expect from the great conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh next summer?
8. From these studies, how has your conception of the Church of Christ developed?

RECOMMENDED READING

Companion Material

CHRIST'S WAY AND THE WORLD'S by Henry Smith Leiper. Abingdon Press. (Paper, 65c; cloth, 90c)

CHURCH, COMMUNITY AND STATE by J. H. Oldham. Harper & Bros. (25c)

CHRISTIANITY—AND OUR WORLD by John C. Bennett. Association Press. (50c)

Supplementary Material

CHURCH AND STATE IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA By William Adams Brown. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

CHURCH AND STATE ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT By Adolf Keller. Epworth Press.

ECONOMICS AND THE GOOD LIFE by F. Ernest Johnson. Association Press.

RELIGION AND THE MODERN STATE by Christopher Dawson. Sheed and Ward.

THE CHURCH THROUGH HALF A CENTURY by Cavert, Van Dusen and others. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

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